

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Republican Party—its Greatest Peril.

From the N. Y. Times.

The warning of the Maine election came not a moment too soon for the welfare of the Republican party. The West furnishes abundant indications of the danger it encounters as a consequence of the determination of cliques and factions to fast upon it issues quite foreign to the recognized objects of its organization. Senator Grimes' vigorous protest against the attempt to make the prohibitory tariff a test of party orthodoxy, receives the endorsement of the leading Republicans of his State. General Baker, Adjutant-General, and one of its most influential men, writes "that if the tariff lobby succeed in interpolating into the creed of the Republican party a prohibitory tariff plank, and making that the issue, the Republican party of the Northwest will be smashed to atoms." Strong as the statement is, we are persuaded that it does not transcend the truth. Throughout the Northwest the Republican press is unanimous in its denunciation of the combinations which try to manipulate the action of Congress on the tariff question; admitting the necessity of high duties in existing circumstances, but resisting any assertion of the prohibitory principle in the interest of classes.

The temperance question in its prohibitory aspect is another source of party weakness elsewhere than in Maine or Massachusetts. In Michigan the recent Convention proposed to engraft the doctrine upon the State Constitution, wisely consenting, however, to submit it to a separate vote. In Illinois and adjacent States zealots seek to invest prohibition with legislative and ultimately with constitutional sanction, and the intolerant spirit in which they promulgate their views threatens to alienate from the Republican party a large proportion of the German vote. The earnestness with which General Carl Schurz remonstrates against "attempts to use the Republican organization to inculcate on the community arbitrary legislation, encroaching on individual rights in connection with temperance and Sunday questions," shows the depth to which popular feeling has been stirred on the subject, and the folly of those who would embarrass the party with extraneous questions. General Leib, a leader among the Germans of Illinois, in a published letter alleges "that so much harm has already been done, that nothing but an earnest protest of the whole Republican press of the State" against the course pursued, and an explicit expression of this view in the next State platform of the party, "will secure to the Republican party the future political support of the radical German element."

These signs of the times should not be disregarded by those who would preserve the unity and power of the Republican party. The period is not one in which it can afford to assume the responsibility of every cry which individuals raise in the Republican name, or by intolerance in any form to furnish provocatives to division. The great work of restoring the nation and guaranteeing permanence to the results achieved by the war remains to be completed, and until this be done no new issue should be entertained. The future has important questions in reserve, and the tariff is one of them. But it were criminal to anticipate causes of party difference or to divert public attention, however slightly, from the momentous task with which it has been entrusted by the country. Forbearance, moderation, and liberality in interpreting the motives and aims of others are qualities which the Republican party cannot too sedulously cultivate in the present critical condition of national affairs.

Amnesty—Pardon.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The States Zeitung labors heavily to tarn the flank of the act of Congress which expressly prescribes the qualifications of voters in reconstructing the Rebel States, and which as expressly prescribes that no amnesty or pardon by the President shall operate to enfranchise those who are thus precluded from voting because of their conspicuous part in the late Rebellion. To this end, it desperately quotes Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist as saying that

"The principal argument for restoring the power of pardoning in the case of treason in the Chief Magistrate, is the necessity of insuring to the nation a well-timed offer of pardon to the insurgents or rebels, and to restore the tranquility of the commonwealth."

"This is clear enough, but it does not help the Zeitung's case a hair; so it has to be supplemented by an opinion of Jerry Black, who says—

"A person disfranchised by the laws of the United States can be restored to all the rights which he had before conviction by a free and full pardon from the President."

"This, now, is the point; and if the ex-Archbishop-General can be induced to add, 'although Congress shall expressly and emphatically enact that no pardon or amnesty proclaimed by the President shall have any such effect,' the Zeitung will have the full weight of Jerry's authority in support of its doctrine. Until then, it does not cover the case, while Hamilton's does not approach it."

The Approaching Political Campaign.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Our Cincinnati and Cleveland correspondence, published on Thursday; our correspondence from Pennsylvania, published a few days ago, as well as that which we are receiving daily from other parts of the North and West, all show that a great and widespread reaction has commenced against the dominant radical party. The people, who gave the Republicans their votes and support, during the war and since, did so for quite a different object from that which the party is now pursuing. That party was placed in power, first, to prosecute the war for the Union to a successful issue, and, second, to harmonize and restore the country, as it promised to do, upon the basis of the Constitutional amendment.

When it went beyond this and created a military despotism over the South; when it attempted to subvert the Constitution, or rather to ignore it altogether, its leaders boldly declaring the country in a state of revolution, and when its object to establish negro supremacy and a negro balance of power became apparent, the people saw they had been cheated. Had the members of the present Congress, when candidates, gone before the people with such a revolutionary programme, they would have been defeated. They have played a confidence game upon the public, and, acting as the masters rather than the

servants of the people, have defied the sentiment of the country. This infamous conduct has produced its fruit. The public mind is becoming enlightened, and a general reaction has set in.

The radical press, though evidently much alarmed, attempts to explain away the true cause of the Republican losses in Maine and California; but that is a hopeless task. Every one knows the cause is general; that local issues have had little to do with it, and that it lies in the disaffection of people generally with the negro supremacy policy of the radicals. It is found, in fact, in the common sense and patriotism of the mass of the people revolting against the faithlessness and destructive measures of Congress. But our correspondence shows beyond doubt that an extraordinary reaction is going on in all the great Central States and in the West. The general issue as regards negro suffrage and negro supremacy is the same everywhere—the same in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and the other States, and the same as entered into the elections in California and Maine.

In these latter States, however, the contest was tame compared with what it will be, from all appearances, in the elections to come off during the next two months. There is another important question looming up prominently in the canvass, particularly in Ohio and other parts of the West, and that is the financial question. This threatens to prove as disastrous to the radicals as their negro-shipping policy. The Chase radical policy for perpetrating a moneyed oligarchy and despotism is viewed with as much disfavor in the West, among all parties, as negro supremacy. The mass of the Republicans, as well as the Democrats, are bitterly in opposition to the national bank monopoly, bondholders being exempt from taxation, and to all the other measures of Chase, McCulloch, and their friends in favor of a moneyed oligarchy. The industrious classes—the farmers, laborers, mechanics, and tradesmen—see ruin staring them in the face if this wretched financial system be perpetuated. They see that an enormous debt will be fastened upon them, their labor taxed beyond forbearance, their means of paying their taxes and debts greatly reduced, and the prospect of universal bankruptcy; and all to favor the national bank monopoly, the bondholders and capitalists. Looking at the rapid growth of public opinion in opposition to the radical financial policy, there is reason to believe the party will be defeated in the West on this issue alone. The whole tenor of our correspondence indicates such a result.

But the main question occupying the public mind at present, is that of negro suffrage and a negro balance of power in the republic. The prospect of the whole South being governed by the ignorant and uncivilized negroes, of these benighted blacks holding the balance of political power in the republic, of taking their seats in Congress, and of dominating over the people of our own superior race, with the degradation and ruin that must follow—these are the thoughts so repulsive to the mass of the Northern people. It is this fearful prospect, brought before us by radical rule, that has created a reaction in the public mind, and that will surely overwhelm the party that has brought the country to such a deplorable condition. The great reactionary movement of the day is not one in favor of the Democratic party, and least of all in favor of the Copperhead faction. The questions at issue are new; old party dogmas and platforms have become obsolete. The masses of the people which have voted on both sides are now coming together as the great constitutional party. They are disgusted with the disorganizing and revolutionary conduct of the radicals, and with the infamous attempt to Africanize the white race by creating a negro balance of power. That is the real state of things; and if we mistake not the signs of the times, the radicals will be defeated in the great Central States, as well as in the West, at the coming elections. The moderate and conservative Republicans should throw their destructive leaders and unite with others to form the great constitutional party of the future.

Indian Councils and Indian War.

From the N. Y. Herald.

We learn, by special telegram, that the Indian ultimatum to our Commissioners is "the withdrawal of the troops from the Powder river country and the abandonment of the Smoky Hill Pacific Railroad." They also demand "guns, ammunition, and presents." This is the result of the tedious and useless attempts to arrange our Indian difficulties peacefully.

It is no wonder the Indians insult us. We might well expect it after teaching them, through our dishonest agents, that we are as unreliable as they are themselves. Respect for us they have none, and least of all for our military prowess. They have tried their skill and strategic powers with our regular army, to find us their inferiors. Now they say, "We do not want peace, because when we are at peace we are poor; now we are rich." This is all too true; for how can they be better than poor when an Indian appropriation of fifty thousand dollars will, before it reaches the frontier, dwindle down to one red blanket and a string of beads? In war, owing to their more rapid tactics, they can make their own appropriations, and that, too, from the Government supplies to our army. They constantly do it, and scarcely a day passes in which we fail to chronicle the loss of army wagons, the driving off of cattle and horses from some outpost, and the useless pursuit by our sluggish troops. Our tactics do not fit the war, and our army brains, schooled in the grooves of a routine out of which they appear worthless, are totally at a loss how to hold the Indians in hand. We annually bleed our treasury many millions of dollars for Indian war purposes on one hand and Indian presents on the other. In peace we furnish them with all the munitions of war they may desire, and in war we wonder where they get their weapons. The old Spaniards were wiser than we in dealing with the Indian tribes on this continent, for they made it a criminal offense to sell firearms to an Indian.

An Indian war is, however, upon us. The blunders, right and left, which have made it necessary will not now mend affairs. We must to-day accept the fact, look it in the face, and prepare to fight it out. The question is, how can it best be brought to a conclusion? Certainly not by our regular troops; for the whole past history of our frontier indicates a complete failure of the army whenever this duty has been assigned to it. There is but one method, and that is by volunteers. The Governor of every frontier State and every Territory should have authority to keep the Indians quiet in his district, and to raise a sufficient volunteer force for the purpose—the title to be paid by the general Government. The troops thus raised should be placed in command of volunteer officers, who, selected from our ablest frontiersmen, understand Indian tactics, have personal wrongs to avenge and a local responsibility to discharge. Let them not be afraid to take a scalp. The Indian appreciates force and takes a scalp. If this method be pursued we shall close our Indian war in less than six months, and at the

minimum cost. If it be carried on in the present style, the country may prepare itself to be bled of its treasure for the next ten years, only to find the Indian question as unsettled then as it is to-day.

Republican Responsibility for Official Corruption.

From the N. Y. World.

It would be of great service to the political education of the people, if they could be made to understand two or three simple, central ideas in the science of government. It is the chief function of government to protect its subjects against injustice: first, against the injustice of other organized political communities, or, in other words, against foreign aggression; secondly, against the rapacity and bad passions of members of the same community. Of these latter, crimes of fraud require more constant vigilance than crimes of violence, as there are thousands of rascals who will cheat for every ruffian who would maim or murder. The prevention of fraud, therefore, is the chief burden of the ordinary duties of government; and as government is administered by human beings of the passions with the rest, and greater opportunities for knavery, protection against their rapacity is the principal end of political exertion. In a free government, this protection is attainable only through the agency of parties. Political parties have an adequate motive to watch and expose each other, and it is only by such mutual arraignments at the bar of public opinion that the administration can be maintained in that degree of purity which human affairs admit of. It is only by holding the party in power responsible for the malfeasance of its members, that the community can be protected.

On this right principle, the Republican party is responsible for the enormous and astounding corruption which has marked all departments of administration, but which, at the present moment, is most conspicuously exhibited in the collection of the internal revenue. The Democratic party is obviously not responsible, since none of its members are in official positions, and it has no power to turn out any corrupt officer, except by the dilatory method of carrying the elections.

It cannot with any justice be pleaded in extenuation of Republican culpability that the legislative and executive departments do not co-operate. The Republican party elected both, and are as responsible for the conduct of one as for that of the other. Moreover, the nominations of the Senate, which makes the Republican Senate equally answerable with the Republican President for incapable or corrupt officers. That corruption exists on the most gigantic scale is undeniable; the whisky frauds that are every day coming to light during the months of all gainers. The Republican party must bear the full blame of all this rotteness. It is no business of its opponents to be very exact in apportioning their respective shares to Congress and the Executive. It is asserted by one of the Republican organs—the Tribune—that the Government is losing two hundred million dollars a year by the whisky frauds alone; and what the Government loses is taken out of the pockets of the people to swell the dishonest gains of the distillers and the revenue officers who connive at their rascality. An administration under which such injustice is perpetrated cannot be saved from public odium by a recitation of invectives between the President and Congress. These two branches of the Government are answerable jointly and severally, and the party which elected them is responsible as a unit, for a system which, instead of protecting the people, is itself the chief engine of their robbery and oppression.

It cannot be denied that part of the blame belongs to Congress. We do not complain that the whisky tax is high; it ought to be high. The tax on distilled spirits is a chief source of revenue in other Governments, and there is no reason why it should not be in ours. But when Congress imposed so high a tax as two dollars a gallon on whisky, it should have strengthened, in every practicable way, the machinery for its collection. The cost of manufacturing whisky is not more than forty cents a gallon; two dollars is therefore a tax of five hundred per cent. A duty of thirty per cent on imported goods is high enough to encourage smugglers, and it should have been foreseen that a duty fifteen times as high would hold out a powerful temptation to illicit distillation. We love to be ingenious, and must concede that while engaged in framing the revenue laws, Congress seemed not wholly un mindful of its duty. But it acted (to borrow a dairyman's simile) like a cow which gives a good pailful of milk and then lifts her foot and kicks it over. The fanatical zeal of Congress on the reconstruction question impelled it to risk the public revenue for the sake of splitting the President. By passing the Tenure of Office bill, and taking from him the power of removal, it showed how recklessly it was willing to jeopard the revenue to gratify party passions. We have indeed no evidence that matters would be any better if the President could promptly remove every officer in the revenue service; the power signifies little where there is no disposition to use it. But in the hands of a vigorous and faithful Executive, the power of summary dismissal would be a capital safeguard against fraud. Instead of waiting for Congress to act, he could in many cases prevent them. There may be hundreds of cases where doubts are entertained of the honesty of officers against whom there would be no sufficient grounds for legal proceedings. The power of removal at the pleasure of the Executive meets all such cases, in which an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure; as well as all the cases in which the slackness of an indolent disposition inspires the efficiency of the other, but yet affords no tangible ground for his removal on criminal charges or the evidence of transpired facts. With the high internal taxes imposed by Congress there was a necessity for increasing, if possible, the facilities for holding the civil officers of the Government to a prompt responsibility. The two parts of the Congressional system do not match each other. To lay very high taxes, and take away the chief means of enforcing their honest collection, is not so much to establish a system of revenue as to organize a gigantic machinery of fraud. This is what the Republican Congress, impelled by party motives, have done; and the party cannot escape responsibility.

But the Republican Executive cannot shield itself behind this curtailment of power, unless it has made a prompt and faithful use of such authority as Congress has left or conferred. If the Executive does not exert such power, what has warrant have we for supposing that it would make a better use of more? We do not see how Secretary McCulloch, in particular, is to escape censure. The President is indeed responsible for him, as the Republican party is for the President, and for the countless hosts of Republican officers whom he has put (or kept) in office. But Mr. McCulloch has the revenue system of the Government in charge; it is his special duty to superintend it. It is a disgrace to his department that a vast system of fraud, so hugely gigantic as that which is now being disclosed,

should have grown up under his administration and ripened to such rank rotteness before the offenders are found out and proceeded against. He seems not inensible to the discredit; but it is the sensitiveness of a weak man who shrinks before conviction, instead of boldly doing his duty. In the Callcott case, things have gone on from May till near October without a public explosion, and proceedings against the delinquent seem to have been extorted at last only by the impossibility of longer concealment. Similar frauds are perpetrated in every part of the country. The revenue system is like a body covered all over with the ripe pustules of the small-pox, and the physician gives his first dose of medicine in this advanced stage of the disease, although the patient has been under his care from the beginning. The Government is losing two hundred million dollars a year by these whisky frauds alone, and most of these frauds must have taken place with the connivance of revenue officers. It is quite a different matter from the evasion of the customs duties by smuggling. The smuggler carries on his trade by escaping the surveillance of officers; but the whisky thieves operate under the very nose of officers, and could not possibly succeed without their collusion or connivance.

We shall watch the disgraceful developments now in progress with close attention, giving due support and hearty applause to vigilant and honest officers, but sparing no man, high or low, who shrinks from doing his whole duty. We expect developments more astounding than any that have yet been made. The Democratic party washes its hands of all complicity with any branch of the Republican administration, which has afforded a cover for these enormous frauds by occupying the public attention with the protracted squabble between a Republican President and a Republican Congress. We own no stock in either branch of the concern, and see no remedy but in turning out both parties to the quarrel.

The Contest in Ohio.

From the N. Y. World.

Federal politics are very prominent in the Ohio campaign, but State politics are influencing the result to a degree scarcely suspected by the politicians of other States.

1. Concerning the issues raised in the platform of the two parties as to the policy of the General Government. The Republican platform, adopted on the 19th of July, without disguise asserts that the war has taught us a lesson in politics as to the interpretation of our Federal and local rights. It asserts that we are "not a Confederacy of sovereign and independent States," but a nation; and then clinches this assertion with the non sequitur—that while "opposed to all attempts at centralization or consolidation of power anywhere," it holds that liberty of human rights "constitute our great national boon, which local or State organizations must not be allowed to abridge or take away!" Such a precious jumble of political philosophy could only be concocted accordingly" in the brain of its author, General Schenck. The Democratic platform, on the other hand, denounces the Congressional legislation in detail, denounces the ex-emption of the Government bonds from taxation, and it recites the canons of Democratic faith as to the spheres of the Federal and State Governments. On general national politics the issues are squarely made, and are being ably debated throughout the State, from Portsmouth to Cleveland, and from Belle Air to Greenville.

2. Concerning the issues raised in the two platforms on questions of State politics:—The pivot point in the proposed amendment to the State Constitution, which is yet latent with the general radical policy of negro suffrage. The Republican platform asserts that "the radicals place themselves on the broad platform of impartial manhood suffrage, as embodied in the proposed amendment to the State Constitution." This amendment is familiarly known in Ohio as the "Gizzard foot amendment." It reads as follows:—

"Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, three-fifths of the members elected to each branch of the State, that it be and hereby is proposed to the electors of this State to vote at the next annual October election upon the approval or rejection of the following amendment as a substitute for the first section of the fifth article of the Constitution of this State, to wit:—Every male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county, township, or ward in which he resides such time as may be required by law, except such persons as have borne arms in any insurrection or rebellion against the Government of the United States, or have fled from their places of residence to avoid being drafted into the military service thereof, or have deserted the military or naval service of said Government in time of war, and have not subsequently been honorably discharged from the same, shall have the qualifications of an elector, and be entitled to vote at all elections."

To understand this amendment, it must be observed that in the present Constitution, made by the Democracy in 1851, the word white qualifies the male citizen for suffrage. True, by the decision of the Republican Courts in Ohio, and by the practice of the Judges of Election in Republican localities, able citizens vote who can swear that they have more white than black in their blood. In other words, mulatto or colored is white, according to Republican theory and practice. This big-bellied amendment of the Constitution lies in the face of the constitutional provision (Article 16, section 1) that "when more than one amendment shall be submitted at the same time, they shall be so submitted as to enable the electors to vote on each amendment separately." Now this suffrage amendment contains four distinct propositions. The radicals pronounce it only one, because all relate to suffrage—some contracting and others extending the elective franchise.

In this amendment it is proposed to extend the elective franchise to the negroes, and at the same time to take it away from three classes of white persons, to wit, those who left the State to avoid being drafted into the Federal service; those who served in the Rebel army; and those who deserted the Federal service during the war. The manner in which this resolution was passed is a subject of remark in Ohio. It was first proposed in January, 1866, by the representative from Loraine, an intensely radical region, and by the Senator from Ashkshaba, only next to Loraine in radicalism. As then proposed, it simply extended the right to vote to the negroes. It was then postponed till the adjourned session of 1867, because it was feared, if passed in the winter of 1866, it would affect the Congressional elections of that year. In the winter of 1867 it came up again. When put on its passage, it failed by a decided vote. Many radical members coming from the closely contested counties of the State voted against it with the Democrats. These members claimed that when they were candidates they had pledged themselves to vote against striking the word white from the Constitution. The subject was reconsidered, however, and the radical members commenced holding nightly caucuses to whip in the disaffected. In the meantime letters poured in

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